1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[p. 377, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
[221] usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l—a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
764 abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
768 government. No longer permitted to move about the
178 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
[656] justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

---

[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[9]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

[648]

[9]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this
783 ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
[551] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
[821] winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [648] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bear- [789] skins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The [764] rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
789 eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
[525] powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that
[177] a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825
789
[832]
cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302
796
[881]
Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

825
789
778
763
825
The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797
668
182
The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
[782]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

[p.361, A]

591
178
114

subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

591
178
(124)

Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

428]
[611]
[764]

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

622

624
114
756
428
178

The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

● 764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a greek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 178 [768] The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

The funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

857
888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
754 witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their [778] babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

861
775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

762
[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dime? dé·gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

768
764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them
[765] should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

765

Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

765
824
789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787]
[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764
775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, [492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

NWA 841

NWA 881

NWA 764

NWA [767]

	Ts	K1	K2	Ko	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (namadrarai)														
2354. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
2355. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2356. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2357. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2359. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2365. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	•	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2374. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2378. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2379. Confinement 5 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2380. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
2384. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2384a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	–	–
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

[p.411]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
	2399. Purified by washing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2401.	Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404a. West	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2412.	Cremation	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2413. All deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2416. Witches	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
2417.	Cremation in house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2418. In pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2419. On pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2421.	Funeral speech by old man	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2425.	Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2426. House burned	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2431.	Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
2432.	Female relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2434. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
	2438a. Smear faces	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2441.	Male relatives crop hair	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	2444a. 3-12	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2446. Abstain from washing	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2447a. 12	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2448.	Mourning terminated by mourner washing	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2450.	Taboo on name of dead	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2451. Permanent	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'amó)														
2469.	Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470.	Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 412]